A Summit on Vietnam? *The Editors*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

February 27, 1965, 35 cents

Interview with Mao Tse-tung

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Up Comes the Navy — *Raymond D. Senter*

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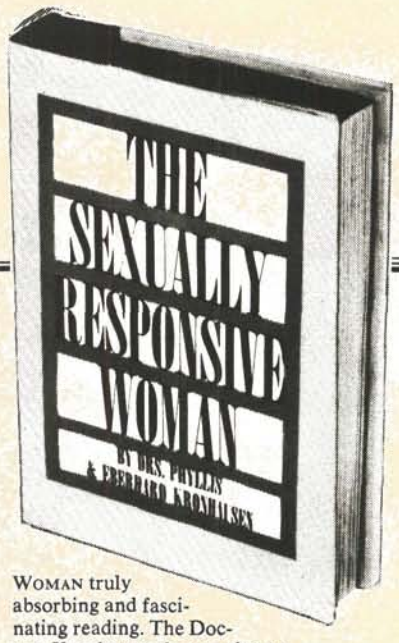
Here, for the first time, is the exact nature of woman's sexuality— as explicitly revealed by laboratory experiments and by intimate autobiographies



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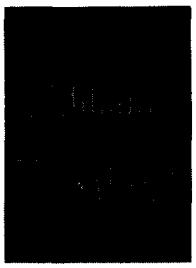

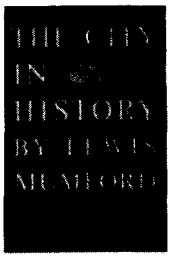

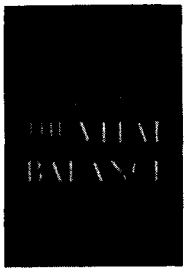
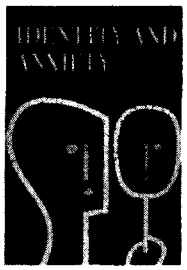
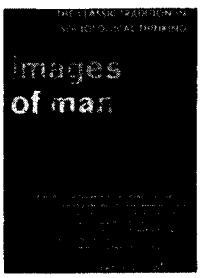

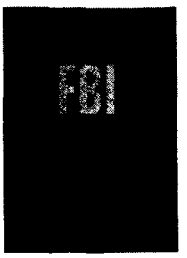

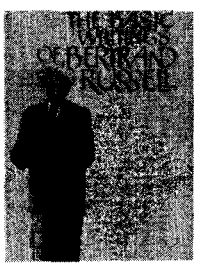
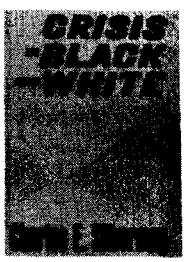
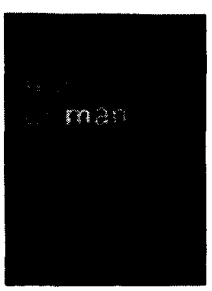
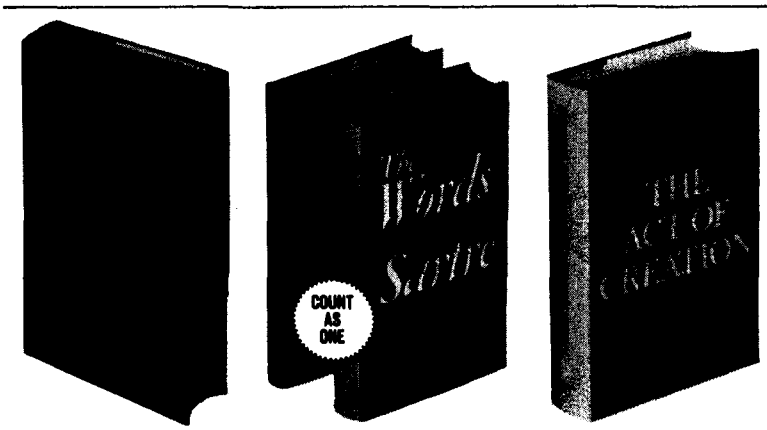

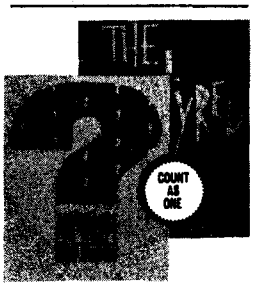

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

LBJ Echoes JFK

★ Four years ago, almost to the day, we watched young, dazzling John F. Kennedy, just elected, go before the National Industrial Conference Board in a big hotel here and appeal for "partnership." The NICB is a business elite group. We seek "more than a truce, more than a treaty – we seek the spirit of a full-fledged alliance" with business, Kennedy said. He promised them a big new tax cut in the form of a liberalized depreciation allowance.

Kennedy failed. Business fought him. Hardly a year later, in the steel crisis, JFK was saying, "My father always told me that all businessmen were sons of bitches, but I never believed it until now."

Now it is 1965. We saw the 1961 scene repeated last week. In a big hotel here the President came before the NICB. "We have a partnership for prosperity," he told the businessmen. (It was the word "partnership" that alerted us.) He came, he said, bearing a gift – the promise of a big new tax cut – a liberalized depreciation allowance.

In the audience, smiling like a Cheshire cat, was George Humphrey, Ike's old treasury secretary. Introducing the President, appropriately enough, was Roger Blough, speaking in the voice he uses to announce a $6-a-ton steel increase.

And so Mr. Johnson continues to lead his fantastic coalition, businessmen and liberals. He proposed "doubling" the war on poverty the same day; not a very big price tag to it, an increase of about $750 million, but something for the liberals to fondle. (Unemployment, costing billions, is still almost five percent; but nobody says much about it these days.)

Mr. Johnson wants business help to end the balance of payments deficit. He appeals to bankers and businessmen to apply voluntary curbs. Stop exporting factories to Europe, he pleads. Will they do it? Their answer is grudging.

Maybe LBJ can work the miracle! Yet we will say this. Never in our time in Washington, and never in that of any President we have ever read about, has organized business supported a President who genuinely offered a liberal program and who fought to enact it. We watch Mr. Johnson walk the tightrope in awe; unions and intellectuals, and Negroes, and the poor balancing one side; business, and employers and budget-economizers and the rich on the other. Can he do it? Will he fall? This, surely, is a sight to see.

Vietnam Clock

★ Ever wake up at night and hear the clock ticking? The moon streams through the window, a night bird calls, the clock ticks. It isn't there in the daytime; it fills the whole room at night.

The Vietnam ticking fills all Washington now. The ominous, anxious wait continues. Who is giving Mr. Johnson advice? One report is that his advisers have been winnowed down till they are now virtually unanimous on two things: the South Vietnamese love us; the North Vietnamese will break off the war if we continue limited air retaliation – pardon us, the word is forbidden – air "response."

Well, maybe they are right for all we know. Maybe in the morning the ticking will go away. In the meantime there is this:

We have escalated the war. We are no longer "observers," we are participants. The waterlogged Geneva treaties have sunk. The ancient theory of a "privileged sanctuary" is gone, too. The Moscow-Peking rift continues, but instead of driving enemies apart we are driving them together. Almost everybody urges us to "negotiate"; we even say we want to negotiate ourselves. But negotiate what? Mr. Johnson says it is all up to our enemies.

In powerful editorials the *NY Times* asks the President for a formal utterance of our position. As this is written it has not come. Mr. Johnson is bland. Why, our position is what it has always been, he told the same business NICB conference – to "defend the freedom of a great people. . . . Our stamina and the stamina of the American people is equal to the task."

The "great people"? Oh, the South Vietnamese! Their "freedom"? The freedom of patriotic peasants to be ruined by both sides, like the tortured peasants in the 100 Years War. Mr. Johnson spoke after dining with General Eisenhower at the White House. Mr. Truman issued a statement, too. It seemed coordinated.

What are the politics of the affair? Republicans are loyally militant; a few liberal Democrats deeply troubled. The GOP is showing it is tough to Communism. Never fear, if the public wearies it will be "Lyndon's War," just as it was "Truman's War" in Korea. Few Republicans are as dexterous as Dick Nixon, however, the old champ; in the same paragraph in one speech he boasted that the GOP is the party of peace, and urged the President to accelerate bombings.

Why not appeal to the UN? The UN is paralyzed. For two and a half months the Assembly has survived only under a unanimous consent agreement to take no roll-call vote. Now in the crisis, Albania (Red China's ally) deftly demands a roll call. The world's hope, the UN, is wilting.

Nuclear Club

★ The ticking you hear is The Bomb. Only four nations actually have it; the Chinese are developing it.

But others have the know-how; they are only hesitating to build, it seems, out of a haunting affection for humanity. Civilization is catching fire; they keep looking to see if the engines won't come.

It is a queer season in Washington. There is a marked degree of shoulder-shrugging – a feeling that events are beyond one. Let's find something cheerful, instead! Already the birds start to sing; the indomitable bulbs push up. They have come through another winter. Spring is lovely in Washington. If only it weren't for that damned ticking.

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CONTENTS

THE WEEK – A Summit on Vietnam?, Take Your Pick, Beauty Spot, The Price of Meat, Recruiting Teachers 5

United Mine Workers – *James Ridgeway* 9
Plumbing Our Leaky Payments Balance – *Nat McKitterick* 10
Up Comes the Navy – *Raymond D. Senter* 12
How to Out-Fox the Majority – *James Deakin* 13
New Immigration Policy – *Andrew Kopkind* 15
Interview With Mao – *Edgar Snow* 17

BOOKS – *Review by Eleanor Dienstag* 24
THEATER *by Robert Brustein* 26
CORRESPONDENCE 28

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A Summit on Vietnam?

No one likes the taste of castor oil. And there was a nauseatingly oily flavor of self-righteousness in *Pravda's* comment last week that "the most farsighted US politicians begin to understand that the only sensible way out of the dangerous situation that has developed in Indochina is a political solution which can be found through peaceful negotiations." Senators Fulbright, Mansfield, Morse and Gruening, whom *Pravda* included in its bag of "farsighted US politicians," have understood this for some time – perhaps longer than *Pravda*. Had Russia chosen to exercise her right to take the initiative as co-chairman, with Britain, of the Geneva conference, a "political solution through peaceful negotiations" could conceivably have been sought long ago. It seems to have dawned on the Russians comparatively recently that a settlement – one in which they have a hand – is in their national interest.

But sometimes castor oil has to be swallowed no matter how it tastes, nor how unattractive the hand that holds the spoon. What *Pravda* says is, after all, quite true: there *is* a dangerous situation in Indochina, and a political solution *is* the only sensible way out. We do not know if this view is shared by Hanoi and Peking, and we cannot know until the question is put and is answered. We do know that Washington is balking at the notion of negotiations, and for obvious reasons: how can it contemplate negotiating with people who are not notorious for keeping their word, and who moreover are in an excellent position now to drive an extremely tough bargain? The US has worked and fought hard, and incidentally has also paid a lot, to stave off a Viet Cong victory in South Vietnam. There ought to be genuine sympathy for the Administration in its present dilemma, and real understanding even of President Johnson's silence – still unbroken as these words were written – about what he intends to do. The Administration explicably grasps at every excuse for postponement. It does so even to the point of such diverse and confusing hints that negotiation feelers have already gone out and been rebuffed, or – what seems to be a complete *volte face* – that it is worthless to talk to Hanoi (or Peking?) because the guerrillas who are winning the civil war in South Vietnam, though inspired and assisted, are by no means controlled from outside.

Sympathy with the Administration's dilemma must not, however, shut out harsh reality. It is not just that things are going badly, but that they show no promise of going better. While Mr. Johnson stays

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mum, the machinery he set in motion when our planes bombed North Vietnam grinds on; the North Vietnamese last week charged the US with further aggression by shelling from the sea. As matters now stand, by its bombings and shellings of North Vietnam the US dare not go too far forward and fears to pull back. The Administration refuses to call these attacks on the North retaliation, but by any name they are unrewarding. Tit-for-tat strikes will not cow the North Vietnamese into "calling off" the guerrilla fighting in the South, even if they have the power to do so; more probably, they will stiffen resistance. And if the air and sea attacks on the North multiply, there is at least a 50-50 chance that Hanoi will respond by hurtling its very large army south across the 17th parallel. Some who are urging the President to hit harder at the North would not be too disconcerted if this happened, or even if China entered the war, since they seem to believe that the US has to fight a major war in Asia sooner or later. But if an all-out struggle really came, the thin and scattered applause of the "hawks" would soon be drowned out by the roars of GOP condemnation that, as TRB says, would greet "Lyndon's War."

What then is to be done? Mr. Truman advises silence. "Sideline hecklers who neither have all the facts nor all the answers," he says, should keep their opinions to themselves. But we are all hecklers, standing on the sidelines of a game we are not winning but seem unable to end. What it would take to "win" is not even known. Beyond the hopeless rounds of raids, retreats, policy changes and government shuffling, there is no announced plan at all for protecting American interests by maintaining a non-Communist presence in Southeast Asia. American advice, weapons and blood have thus far failed to save South Vietnam from creeping Communism. Their further expenditure seems very unlikely to do the job.

A cease-fire can probably be negotiated, but perhaps only on terms so hard that an already demoralized Saigon might throw up the sponge completely. The Administration fears this, and fears also the debilitating effects on the rest of Asia. But to try and keep this limited war going indefinitely, running faster and faster so that we do not fall too far behind, risks the emergence of a South Vietnamese government whose hopes are exhausted and which, one terrible day, will expel the US and negotiate on its own. That might happen no matter what we do. But surely it would be better for the South Vietnamese and the US to have the weight of America felt in any negotiations, than for Saigon to sit down alone with its enemies. It would be better still to have the Russians involved. It has

Take Your Pick

"Despite the corrosive instability of the Vietnamese government, so tragically out of touch with the mass of its citizens in hamlet and village, the action [US air strikes at North Vietnam] of the past few days has lifted spirits here to their highest point since the raids in the Gulf of Tonkin last August."

– ROWLAND EVANS *and* ROBERT NOVAK, *column from Saigon, February 14, 1965*

"The air strikes have had no noticeable or beneficial effect on public thinking as far as Saigon is concerned. The average Vietnamese in Saigon, if he paid any attention at all to the war, has long felt that it was something that has been taken out of Vietnamese hands anyway." – JOHN MAFFRE, *dispatch from Saigon, Washington Post, February 14*

★ ★ ★

"Government [Saigon] troops opened fire on a mob of about 2,000 as it attempted to storm the district chief's house at Thang Binh, 20 miles south of the US-Vietnamese air base at Da Nang. The demonstrators were demanding an end to air and artillery warfare in their towns and villages. In addition to 15 dead, an unknown number of civilians were wounded, a Vietnamese military spokesman said." – *Baltimore Sun, February 16*

"I think that the effort in Vietnam is an effort to help liberty-loving people preserve their freedom. . . ."

– LYNDON B. JOHNSON, *February 4*

"There is no possibility of forming a democratic government as we know it in South Vietnam. There has to be either a military or absolutist form of government there." – HENRY CABOT LODGE *over WNEW radio, February 14*

★ ★ ★

"Evaluating the over-all situation in South Vietnam, [Ambassador] Taylor said that 'it remains reasonably favorable in a purely military sense. . . .'" *February 14*

"The total of government [South Vietnam] men bearing arms is around 600,000, only about six times the estimated Viet Cong strength. With such a low margin of superiority over the Viet Cong in military terms, the chances of a stalemate are debatable and the chances of pushing the Viet Cong onto the defensive are not worth mentioning." – JOHN MAFFRE, *dispatch from Saigon, February 6*

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become very much to Russia's advantage that a major war between the US and Asian Communism be averted, and that the present situation not lead to China's coming out on top of the whole area, with both the US and Russia nowhere. Free men do not relish the thought of Communism gaining strength anywhere. But there are worse alternatives – and we must face them frankly – than a Vietnam no less Communist, but no less independent, than Yugoslavia. The painful choice now is not between good and better, but between the tolerable and the intolerable. The intolerable includes being handed our walking papers by South Vietnam, or fighting an all-out war in Asia.

Beauty Spot

Mr. Johnson's message on natural beauty has moved some editorial writers to ecstasy. The message isn't that overwhelming. Its suggestions on water pollution, for instance, merely endorse the 1963 findings of Senator Muskie and the Senate Public Works Committee. Mr. Muskie some time ago put forward a bill to free the federal pollution program from the tangled nets of the US Public Health Service and place it in a separate administration directly responsible to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. It did not become law in 1963 because the White House, first in Mr. Kennedy's time and later Mr. Johnson's, twiddled its thumbs while the Public Health Service and Secretary Celebrezze lobbied the legislation to death in the House. Now that the proposal has been officially adopted by the Great Society, it may get a more cordial reception in the House. The Senate has already approved it by a thumping majority.

What is needed, however – and the President's message makes no mention of it – is an expansion of federal construction grants to help cities and towns build costly sewage works. The Muskie bill does not do this. At present, only $90 million is available for this purpose, and New York state alone has plans for a pollution abatement program that would cost $1.7 billion.

What about the foul air we breathe? Mr. Johnson says he will talk to automobile manufacturers about exhaust fumes. That can do no harm. But if he had been willing to risk annoying his supporters in Detroit, he would have supported another Muskie bill requiring manufacturers to install in all cars the exhaust control devices demanded by California.

The President would like the federal government to have power to curb industries from building the sort of plants that spray the air with dangerous pollutants; it now can begin abatement actions only after a plant is in operation. The recommendation is welcome. A more immediate question, however, is whether the Public Health Service which administers the Clean Air Act will use the enforcement powers it already has. Presidential pressure is more important here than any number of messages. Last summer the PHS got its toes wet in New Jersey where industries across from Staten Island are wafting harmful fumes into the west wind, which blows them over the residents of New York City and Long Island. The states of New York and New Jersey met with the federal officials behind closed doors to discuss what might be done. Both states publicize the dangers of air pollution, and by now residents of New York City are conscious of smogs that sting their eyes and make them cough. But behind closed doors, the states pleaded with Washington to keep hands off the big New Jersey oil and chemical industries. Since that meeting last August, the Public Health Service hasn't moved. Mr. Celebrezze must decide whether to act. The President could prod him.

To counter both air and water pollution, Washington is going to have to come up with incentives, either direct construction grants or tax breaks, for getting these industries to build the expensive devices needed. Enforcement machinery is too fragile to make much of a dent on the most culpable industries. Then there is what meets the eye. Mr. Johnson favors landscaped highways. Actually, the federal interstate highway system which accounts for a large part of the highway building program already is landscaped. Sprucing up other roads built with federal funds will brighten all motorists' lives, as well as creating additional jobs. But more important than landscaping is the question of how much it is wise to invest in new roads, and where. On this, Mr. Johnson proposes another study.

Road builders are a tough lot. For example, Robert Moses, to name one parkway fiend, is hatching a new scheme for a bridge across Long Island Sound connecting the superhighways of Connecticut with those of Long Island. All of Mr. Moses' roads are landscaped, incidentally. But what Long Island most needs is a rapid transit system, not another superhighway. The same holds true for the entire Eastern seacoast from Washington to Boston. Megalopolis, as it is called, is the big urban mess that spreads alongside the superhighways. Landscaping may please the eye, but won't clean up the mess. To do that, the President would first have to take on the road builders.

As for pesticides, the Administration is putting its faith in the Secretary of Agriculture, who it says will submit legislation on their manufacture and use. Secretary Freeman is a first-class public servant. But if there is any lesson from the massive fish kills along the Mississippi River last year it is that pesticide regulation should be taken away from the Agriculture Department. Their use cannot be effectively controlled by officials promoting them to raise bigger crops.

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The Price of Meat

The National Food Marketing Commission has started to crawl and President Lyndon B. Johnson's 1966 budget requests an extra $1.5 million to extend its life for a year (until July 1, 1966) and nourish it to the walking, and perhaps even talking, stage. But which direction will it crawl? And then walk? And what will it say when it talks?

Is it true, for instance, that the chain stores unload contract-fed steers on a strong market to break the price and then buy back the same day at a profit? Do chains get together and hire one buyer or permit collusion in bidding, whereby chain buyers do not bid against each other? Or do chains take a loss in the production and processing stages, thus breaking competitors at that level, only to make it up at the retail end? Does this constitute unfair competition? And, if so, what can be done about it?

All these charges have been made in cattle country for years. They apply equally in most other facets of the food industry.

Senator McGee feels the time has come for a tough investigation with evidence taken under oath. His hopes languished until last year's crisis in the meat industry, when the cries of alarm from the cattle precincts came through so loud and clear they were heard everywhere in Washington. Suddenly, a probe seemed feasible into one of the last unregulated sectors of the farming business.

Meanwhile, at the Department of Agriculture, a broader study was entrusted to Dr. George Mehrens, assistant secretary for programming and one-time consultant for a food chain. His was to be a high-level study that would bring all interests involved – business, consumer, farmer – under the same tent to reason together. President Johnson formally proposed this plan in his 1964 message on agriculture.

Alarmed at the prospect that a high-level study would turn into a whitewash that would produce volumes of academically inspired reports to gather dust on the shelves, Senator McGee visited the White House last spring. There, a compromise was conceived.

What the compromise did was call for a 15-member commission (five Senators, five House members, five public members); it was quickly endorsed by, to quote a staff member of the Senate Commerce Committee, "everybody but the John Birchers." Meanwhile, spokesmen for the food industry, such as Ted Cook of General Foods, warned that "politics must be kept out of the pantry." As if they can be kept out.

Into this picture stepped Judge Phil Sheridan Gibson as chairman of the commission. He is an alert and poised retired jurist (California Supreme Court) but, initially, of unknown quantity. He was followed by Dr. George Brandow of Penn State, also of unknown quantity, as executive director. The weeks that followed were discouraging to Senator McGee and his supporters on the NFMC.

There was opposition in the commission to the use of subpoena power, specifically granted in the resolution, and to taking testimony under oath. Those being investigated were, after all, "good people."

Judge Gibson insists the commission must go wherever the "facts" lead it. His mid-January outline of the NFMC plan of action bears this out. But he does not want what he calls a "witch-hunt."

What is a "witch-hunt"? Was that what Estes Kefauver conducted when he called the drug industry to account or when he startled the nation with his crime probe? And what are the "facts" of any given situation? Here is the crux of a struggle that will go on quietly behind closed doors as the 15-member commission plots its course. Powerful economic and political interests of every description have a stake in what the NFMC says when it starts to talk.

Today, Judge Gibson has won the confidence of those who favor a tough line and the initial apprehension over Dr. Brandow is fading. But only the weeks ahead can tell us whether FTC and Justice Department probers will be given free rein to dig into the oft-heard charges against the chain stores and test their validity.

Recruiting Teachers

One puzzling omission in the President's commendable education program is the absence of any proposal to recruit more talented teachers. Senators Gaylord Nelson and Edward Kennedy have now introduced legislation which won't fill this gap overnight but could in time lure a substantial number of able young people into teaching those poor pupils who need talented teachers most. They would create a National Teachers Corps that would hire able teachers and make them available free to low-income schools which are having difficulty recruiting good instructors.

Senator Kennedy is asking the federal government to spend $30 million a year and employ 2,500 experienced teachers – either retired or those willing to resign present posts. Senator Nelson would spend $40 million a year to recruit not only 1,000 experienced teachers but 5,000 recent college graduates, who would be trained by the Corps.

Both schemes would make manpower available to poor schools at no cost, and manpower not now available to these schools at any price. Senator Nelson's bill is the more ambitious. Like the Peace Corps (with which it would be somewhat competitive), his Na-

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tional Teacher Service would appeal to idealistic young college graduates who are not sure what they want to do in the long run, but would be willing to devote two years to deprived-area schools if they are not required to spend a year taking education courses and if there is a terminal date to their service. Undoubtedly some schools would feel that such raw volunteers were insufficiently professional. They need not have them.

Even among experienced teachers, too, many would be interested in giving a couple of years to underprivileged youngsters, knowing they could get out and do something else after their term was over. Moreover, the prospect of being on the federal rather than the local payroll should be reassuring to the more venturesome, as it would protect them in some measure from conventional local pressures. And if the Teacher Service chooses its recruits wisely, plenty of employers would be eager to hire its alumni, just as they are now eager for Peace Corps alumni.

United Mine Workers

The Way Is Hard for Union Insurgents

Moundsville, West Virginia

The Steelworkers still were tearing hair over the propriety of their voting procedures, when 100 or so rebels of the United Mine Workers rank and file met here to decide whether they really want to charge their union president, W. A. (Tony) Boyle, with running a dirty election.

Steve (Cadillac) Kochis Jr., from Bobtown, Pa., who looks like a well-used prizefighter, ran the meeting. Cadillac Kochis had opposed Boyle for president of the international union in last December's elections on behalf of a group of insurgents who felt Tony Boyle – hand-picked by John L. Lewis – was not paying attention to the rank and file. Kochis offered the first serious opposition to UMW leadership since the 1920's. He was soundly beaten: 96,000 votes to 19,000. The union leadership regards Kochis as an upstart and a dumbhead; but since dumbheads don't usually run for office on their own, the leadership concludes he must be fronting for the industry, or for crooks. Now that his reason for a public appearance is over, any open move Cadillac makes is regarded as the unraveling of some Mafia plot.

Kochis had asked Glenn Graves, a young Washington lawyer, to come to Moundsville and see whether the rebels had a case. As the miners spoke, two or three district presidents sat around the edges of the room. (A district encompasses a number of locals.) The presidents are mostly appointed by the international in Washington and have been since 1938. They are helpful in keeping the rank and file amenable to leadership wishes.

Ted Bertz, a machinist from Cadiz, Ohio, told his story in detail. Bertz had the misfortune to run last December as an insurgent in District 6 for a seat on the international's executive board. When he called at the district office to get from the president the names and addresses of the district's 90-odd locals, the information was refused. Instead, Bertz was told he could write letters announcing his candidacy, put them in blank envelopes and hand them over to the district office which, guarding the precious address list, would send them on. That way the locals would know he was running. The incumbent, of course, had this information already available to him. This novel way of running an election slowed Bertz up a bit. Then, as he made his way around the different locals, he discovered his opponent had been there before to warn that "a Communist" might drop by.

In one small mine under union contract, the operator was paying his men scab wages. They were sympathetic to Bertz's candidacy until the operator came down and said, "Don't vote for Ted because if he gets in I'll fire the whole bunch of you."

Bertz's wife began to receive threatening telephone calls, warning her husband to get out of the campaign. One was from the mine operator who said that should Bertz win, "I'll see that Ted burns." Bertz owns a restaurant in Cadiz. One day, for reasons Bertz cannot understand, the UMW threw a picket line around it.

When Bertz reported these incidents to the sheriff of Harrison County, Ohio, he said, "Ted, if I was you I wouldn't leave my car parked out in the driveway because one of these days you're going to get in and it will blow up." Bertz has been a coal miner since 1944.

Thomas Hutchison, another miner, said in a letter presented to Glenn Graves that, exercising his rights under the Landrum-Griffin Act, he went to observe vote counting at one local in behalf of Bob Turner, an insurgent candidate for international union auditor. Hutchison claimed the supervising district member refused him permission.

Turner presented Graves with a letter printed on United Mine Workers stationery that instructed members of a local in District 31 to vote by mail. According to the union constitution local members, including pensioners, must vote on election day at one designated place. This is meant to prevent tampering with

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the ballots. Bertz said there were three different places to vote in his local.

The rebels want Graves to get them a new election. Whether they get one partly depends on whether they will stick by their stories and testify; if so, proceedings might be begun. Under Landrum-Griffin, election complaints go to the Secretary of Labor. If he finds probable cause, he must sue in federal court to get a new election. A trial would follow.

Criticism of President Boyle broke out last year after the terms of the agreement with coal operators were announced. Patterned after contracts set by Lewis, it won the miners a $2-a-day wage increase; Boyle said it was the best ever negotiated by the UMW; but apparently the rank and file wanted more fringe benefits and job security, rather than a higher wage rate. (Many of the UMW rank and file are in advanced middle age and interested in what retirement holds in store.) At any rate, 10,000 men went out on wildcat strikes to register their protest, not at employers, but against the union. They demanded Boyle come to the coal fields and explain what he was doing; Boyle didn't come. The rebels also are angry at what they take to be the district president's refusal to force small mines, some of them under union contract, some not, to pay union scale. An increasing number of mines, however, are going nonunion because they say they can't stand the UMW wage scale. Even though there has been something of a comeback in coal, more than a quarter of coal produced comes from nonunion pits. Most of this is accounted for by small, so-called "dog-hole" operators. Now, bigger mines are threatening to go nonunion.

Kochis's campaign illustrates how the union leadership views competition. The 1964 summer convention was held in Miami Beach, far from the coal fields. It lasted 15 days and cost a miner nearly $1,000 to attend. That made it inaccessible to many delegates of insurgent locals. So they gave their votes to one man who entered the convention to find that matters were decided on a voice vote while women and children were standing on the floor. Boyle's men, wearing miners' hats, manned the microphones. John Stofea, a Kochis supporter from New Eagle, Pa., tried to speak. He was slugged, then beaten by a group of others a few feet from where Boyle was presiding.

At the convention, Boyle said some of the miners had been running to Washington to invoke the Landrum-Griffin and Taft-Hartley laws against him. Going hard for anyone who went to the Labor Department, he said, "When I'm confronted with some of your complaints I'd like to see you add at the bottom, 'I represent a minority group'."

At Moundsville, John Mayo, a district president, got up to defend the union. Like everyone else that day he was a minor parody of old John L. Lewis: "Anyone who attacks the United Mine Workers," thundered Mayo, "is killing the hen that laid the golden egg." His words were drowned out by jeers.

JAMES RIDGEWAY

Plumbing Our Leaky Payments Balance

American citizens and their government own $88 billion worth of foreign property, real and otherwise, which is $37 billion more than foreigners own of our property. Yet the United States is having trouble borrowing money to meet its annual out-of-pocket expenses in foreign lands. A few of our creditors keep demanding settlement of their bills in gold. De Gaulle, for one, is demanding gold on the barrelhead.

So President Johnson has asked the nation's bankers and businessmen to go slow for a while in buying up Europe's industrial landscape. And American visitors, the President says, should go West this year and not to Europe; those who do go to Europe will only be able to bring back $50 worth of native handicrafts duty-free (instead of $100) and only if the tourist carries the merchandise with him. Bankers have been ordered to add a few percentage points in interest as a tax on loans made to foreigners, and Canada has been asked please to limit its borrowing in the US this year. (Japan has been given some trading stamps allowing borrowing up to $100 million a year free of the interest equalization tax.)

Most men of property can go to a bank and raise money to meet their out-of-pocket expenses, but not governments. Up to a point governments have to settle their accounts with other governments in gold because so far the human race has obstinately refused to devise a substitute for gold. "The dollar," said the President in his message to Congress, "is, and will remain, as good as gold." The idea that the dollar should be a lot better than gold is still largely reserved for academics and others not initiated into the secret rites of central banking.

This is the nub of the much advertised balance of payments problem. Despite a flurry of alarmist rumors in advance of his message, President Johnson clearly

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chose "moral suasion" and rhetoric over weighty countermeasures as the means of plumbing the stubborn leak in our gold hoard. He promised to end the balance of payments deficit, which amounted to $3 billion in 1964, but not necessarily this year or next. He rejected the advice of his Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve Board to include a hike in domestic interest rates in the message. And herein lies the key to Johnson's thinking.

In his balance of payments message, the President again demonstrated his primary interest in the Great Society at home over the Grand Alliance of Atlantic nations. The President wants to build America on a foundation of low interest rates and a balanced federal budget. Most economists in official Washington doubt that a small increase in domestic interest rates now would have any significant effect on domestic economic activity, and most believe such a step cannot be avoided for long as a means of keeping interest-sensitive, short-term capital from scurrying to Europe in search of a profit from higher rates prevailing there. This is a major continuing cause of the present gold leak. But the President wants to avoid, as long as possible, tightening monetary policy by even a little. This is because he fears that a tighter money policy will make it impossible to balance the budget at a high level of economic activity.

European governments, conscious of their precarious payments balances, have a different order of priorities. They keep interest rates high to keep capital from leaving the country, but then don't hesitate to use government spending to keep economic activity at a high level. In contrast to Washington, the balanced budget has few religious adherents on the other side of the Atlantic.

Europe is naturally impatient with Washington for not applying higher interest rates to plug the leaks in the payments balance; Washington, naturally, is impatient with Europe for maintaining interest rates which attract "hot money" from the US.

It is doubtful that "moral suasion" will have much effect in this situation. Appeals to the consciences of businessmen and bankers run up against a widespread conviction in business and financial life that nice guys usually end up last. While voicing polite approval of the President's message, many businessmen and bankers are already wondering out loud how they can afford to withhold investments in Europe if their competitors too are not morally persuaded. Chances are it will not be the balance of payments which will inhibit US investment in Europe, but the Europeans themselves, who are becoming more and more alarmed at the thought of Americans buying up sizable chunks of downtown Paris and Frankfurt. Fears of physical controls, resulting from a political backlash against American investment in Europe, are likely to have more impact on business and financial decisions in the immediate future than White House exhortations to limit investments in deference to the balance of payments.

So long as the international payments system operates as it does now on the twin supports of a $35 gold price and fixed exchange rates, no amount of financial plumbing is likely to stop leaks completely. If the structure of the payments system is as strong as its proponents repeatedly assert, then perhaps it doesn't matter much; we should regard it as normal for deficits to expand and contract periodically with long-term shifts in the structures of the US and European economies. In these circumstances we should regard the balance of payments "problem" as more or less permanent, like traffic jams.

But with each passing month more serious students of international finance have come to doubt that the basic structure of the existing payments system is strong. The Delphic pronouncement of President de Gaulle about a return to the gold standard may be dismissed as just another ploy in de Gaulle's continuing war against the idea of an Atlantic Community. But Britain's financial plight cannot be so easily dismissed. Massive and prolonged injections of credit from abroad may not serve to maintain the fixed value of sterling, threatened as sterling is by the fundamental fact that Britain alone has not yet been able to recover from World War II. Yet to devalue sterling, still one of the key currencies in the world payments system, will inevitably require rebuilding the very foundation of the system itself.

Next to the control of nuclear weapons, reform of the international payments system demands the most courage and ingenuity of Western statesmanship. It is much too important a problem to be left to bankers. The task is to find a substitute for gold as a means of settling debts among nations, a substitute which will permit orderly economic expansion in the major trading countries and an increased supply of trading capital in the hands of the less-developed countries, whose trade today is threatened by the failure of the major trading nations to sort out their payments problems in an efficient manner.

"Those who fear for the dollar," said President Johnson in his message, "are needlessly afraid. Those who hope for its weakness, hope in vain." This would be quite true if the architects of Western policy would start seriously fashioning an international payments system which was free of a crude and primitive reliance on gold.

NAT MCKITTERICK

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Up Comes the Navy

In the strikes against Chanh Hoa and Chap Le in North Vietnam carrier-based aircraft outnumbered USAF aircraft by five to one. The US Navy is fast becoming the dominant military service while the Air Force is slipping into second place.

Only a week earlier, the Administration had submitted its fiscal 1966 defense budget to Congress. Careful analysis shows that the Navy's share of the overall defense budget has been steadily increasing over the last three years. Simultaneously, the USAF's share has been dropping at the same rate while the Army's held steady. If this trend continues, and there is reason to believe it will, the Navy will top the USAF.

In the more prestigious measure of Pentagon power – the funds available to each service for procurement – the Navy will overtake the USAF in the upcoming fiscal year which begins in July. In terms of personnel, Navy manpower has climbed steadily over the past several years while Army and Air Force have dropped.

The reasons for this changing balance of power in the Pentagon are more important than the change itself, except perhaps to the services involved. A key factor is the Navy's growing fleet of nuclear-powered, Polaris missile-launching submarines. The Polaris submarine is one of the most effective weapons, perhaps even the most important in the US's strategic arsenal. It has clearly broken the USAF's long-held monopoly in strategic warfare. A fleet of 41 Polaris submarines will be operational in several years, and will constitute more than one-third of the nation's strategic missile force. The new Poseidon missile, which the Navy plans to develop as a replacement for the Polaris, is expected to be even more accurate.

"It All Depends on Whose Barnacle Gets Scraped."

But the Polaris has proved a double-edged sword because it has demonstrated the feasibility of launching long-range missiles from submerged platforms and encouraged the Soviet Union to develop similar weapons. This poses a threat to national survival which could be far more serious than Russian bombers and perhaps even more dangerous than their land-based missiles, for much of our population and industry is concentrated within a few hundred miles of our long coastline. Thus the mission of anti-submarine warfare, long neglected, is fast changing from merely a defense for shipping to defense for national survival, and it is a mission assigned to the Navy.

The third major reason for the Navy's rising prominence is the changing international scene in which the US faces the prospect of increasing numbers of *limited* war situations. Here the Navy aircraft carrier is an almost ideal weapon for applying military power. This is ironic because, with the advent of small nuclear weapons in the post-World War II era, Navy carrier enthusiasts saw the opportunity to give their small carrier-based bombers a strategic punch. Yet the same nuclear weapons made the aircraft carrier itself extremely vulnerable to destruction in a general war.

When Defense Secretary Robert McNamara recognized that the Polaris submarine was a far better strategic weapon and tried to shift the carrier to a limited war mission, there was at first considerable opposition within the Navy. Now it is seen as a wise move.

The aircraft carrier enjoys a number of advantages over the Tactical Air Command, which is the USAF's air arm for coping with limited war situations. USAF aircraft parked on South Vietnam airfields, as well as their pilots and maintenance personnel, are extremely vulnerable to surprise Viet Cong attack. Navy aircraft and personnel enjoy the sanctuary of a floating island.

There are numerous other potential trouble-spots in the Far East and Africa where a neutralist country dare not invite in US military forces lest it provoke the attack it fears. After an attack, conditions may be too

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chaotic and fluid for the Tactical Air Command to fly in and set up shop. But the Navy's carriers can loiter off-shore, ready to go into action against military targets like enemy-held airfields in a matter of minutes or hours, as they have done in the Gulf of Tonkin.

This suggests still another major mission for the Navy which seems likely to develop during the coming decade. Last fall, when the Chinese Communists exploded their first atomic weapon, President Johnson sought to reassure nuclear have-not nations by informally extending the umbrella of US strategic deterrence. The Navy carriers and Polaris submarines may prove the most effective instrument for this policy.

If the Chinese Reds should threaten a neutral, say India, by brandishing their nuclear capability, the latter would be understandably reluctant to invite US forces to enter its country with offensive weapons lest it provoke the Chinese. Yet the appearance of several US aircraft carriers and Polaris submarines in the Indian Ocean, occasionally putting into Indian ports for "crew rest leave," might well be the most effective and least provocative answer to the Communist threat.

Several years ago, top Air Force officers privately concluded that if the Navy ever got approval for more than a dozen Polaris submarines, it was destined to become the top dog in the Pentagon manger. That time is now at hand.

RAYMOND D. SENTER

How to Out-Fox the Majority

Almost unnoticed, the conservative chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee has laid a little trap for three important pieces of legislation backed by President Johnson. Two of the bills – an omnibus housing and urban renewal measure and a bill to extend and expand the depressed areas program – are significant elements in the Great Society design. The third is the controversial truth-in-lending proposal sponsored by Senator Paul H. Douglas (D, Ill.) and endorsed by President Johnson. All three face possible defeat or emasculation by the hidden-ball strategy of a bloc of Southern Democrats and Republicans.

It could be called strength through loss. The November elections were supposed to have shattered the coalition. The President was given huge liberal majorities in both chambers of Congress. To be sure, Congress is moving faster than is usual at this time of year. But the House vote on sale of surplus food to Nasser and the Senate reaction to the closing of veterans' hospitals showed that big majorities can be mushy. And the coalition, although reduced in numbers on the floor, generally retains its hold on the committees and subcommittees, where laws are made.

Banking and Currency conjures up arid images of notes and ledgers. Few Senators are interested in serving on this faintly fusty unit. Yet the committee has a broad writ. Its authority encompasses public and private housing legislation, many programs of federal aid to commerce and industry, important insurance legislation, the valuation and gold backing of the dollar, the Federal Reserve System and even wage, price and rent controls.

When the new Congress convened, the party ratio on Banking and Currency was changed to reflect the over-all Democratic majority of 68 to 32. The lineup became 10 Democrats and four Republicans, compared with a previous 10-to-five lineup. (The committee was reduced from 15 to 14 members in the process.) With a ratio of two-and-a-half to one in favor of the Democrats, Banking and Currency would seem on the surface to be safe for Administration bills.

Then the committee chairman, 77-year-old Senator A. Willis Robertson (D, Va.), set about revising the subcommittees. To conform to the 10-to-four ratio on the full committee, five-to-two lineups on the subcommittees were indicated. Instead, Robertson assigned seven Democrats and three Republicans to each subcommittee.

This had two interesting results. First, it created 10-member subcommittees in which there would be a possibility of tie votes. A tie defeats a bill in subcommittee, and full committees seldom overrule subcommittee actions. Second, Robertson's selection of members for two strategic subcommittees went a long way toward ensuring that there would be tie votes on the three Administration-supported bills.

To the production and stabilization subcommittee, which will handle the depressed areas and truth-in-lending bills, he assigned Senators Wallace F. Bennett of Utah, John G. Tower of Texas and Strom Thurmond of South Carolina as the Republican members. Then Robertson put himself and Senator Edward V. Long of Missouri on this subcommittee as two of the Democratic members. The remaining five positions were filled by liberal Democrats, including the subcommittee chairman, Senator Douglas. A potential

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five-to-five tie vote situation was thereby created.

Long, a little-known Senator who succeeded the late, liberal Thomas C. Hennings Jr., is the most conservative of the Northern Democrats on Banking and Currency and has quietly aligned himself with the Senate establishment dominated by Southerners. Most importantly from Robertson's viewpoint, genial Ed Long has consistently opposed truth-in-lending as have the retailers. The Douglas bill requires lenders to inform borrowers of the total dollar amount of credit charges and the true annual interest rate based on the unpaid balance. It would apply to all forms of credit – small loan companies (which charge 36 percent interest and up), automobile and household financing, department store revolving credit and installment credit plans, bank loans and so forth. It would impose no limit on the interest charged; it would simply require disclosure of the true amount and rate.

Long and other opponents of the bill assert that it would create a bookkeeping nightmare, that it would be impossible for the average retail clerk to determine the true annual rate of interest. Long denies that his opposition to the measure has anything to do with the fact that he is president of the Tower Loan Company of Fulton, Mo., a small loan company with 14 branches in Missouri; the Canton, Mo., State Bank and the Farmers State Bank of Greenfield, Ill.

Another committee opponent of the truth-in-lending bill, Senator Bennett, also has outside interests that would be affected. He and his brothers control the Bennett Motor Company of Salt Lake City, a Ford dealership, and the Bennett Glass and Paint Company, also of Salt Lake City, which does a large credit business. The Utah Senator is a former president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. Johnson endorsed the Douglas bill last year in a special message to Congress on consumer interests and supported it again this year in his economic message. But he either will have to overcome Long's deep-seated opposition or wring a vote from Robertson, Bennett, Tower or Thurmond, unlikely prospects all.

In the case of the depressed areas bill, weakening amendments are more likely than outright defeat. This measure would extend the life of the Area Redevelopment Administration, which runs the program of federal aid to economically-depressed regions, and would authorize about $400 million more for the program. The ARA's operating authority will expire June 30 unless extended, and it is almost out of money. To obtain additional votes to prevent a tie in subcommittee, the Administration may have to make concessions that would seriously impair the program.

The housing and urban renewal bill will be handled by Banking and Currency's housing subcommittee, headed by Senator John J. Sparkman (D, Ala.). To this second key subcommittee, Robertson assigned Senators Bennett, Tower and Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa as the GOP members. Long also was put on the housing unit, with the remaining five places going to liberal Democrats.

When the Administration sends up its housing program, big-city Democrats will be watching to see whether it proposes more liberal assistance to persons displaced by urban renewal and public housing projects, and new low-income housing programs to supplement public housing. If it does not, the liberals probably will push these proposals on their own, in response to the spreading "revolt against the bulldozers" by Negroes shunted into other slums to make way for middle- and upper-income urban renewal projects.

Sparkman, an influential voice in housing legislation, will be up for re-election next year and will be under heavy segregationist pressure to vote against the urban renewal and low-income housing proposals. ("Why vote more money for Nigrahs?") If he comes out against the proposals, and the three Republicans perform as expected, Missouri's Long will have the key vote. Again the Administration will be confronted with the hard necessity of making damaging concessions to prevent a tie vote in subcommittee and salvage at least some of the housing program.

When Robertson, Virginia's "other Senator," shuffled his subcommittees, the liberals on Banking and Currency were finessed. If they insisted on a five-to-two ratio, some of the newer Democratic members of the committee would be deprived of places on the two most important subcommittees, and the liberals needed their support. Other ratios would underrepresent or overrepresent the Democrats.

So the liberals, led by Douglas, devised a different tactic. Instead of challenging the seven-to-three ratio, they decided to propose that when there is a tie vote in a subcommittee, the bill involved will be sent to the full committee without a recommendation, for action at the committee's earliest convenience.

But that proposed rules change must be approved by the 14-member full committee. The four Republican members are virtually certain to oppose it, as are Robertson and Sparkman. The Alabaman votes with Robertson on procedural matters in return for a free hand on housing legislation. This means six votes against the new rule in the full committee, and Senator Long says he is opposed to the rules change, which he describes as contrary to all parliamentary procedure.

So a new rule aimed at overcoming the danger of tie votes in subcommittee, bids fair to be defeated on a tie vote in the full committee, which in some circles is called heads I win, tails you lose.

JAMES DEAKIN

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New Immigration Policy

Give Me Your Vigorous, Your Skilled

The golden door to America closed in 1924, and it is not likely ever to open again. The end of free immigration was part of the isolationist retreat after World War I. From then on, the US had an *anti*-immigration policy, designed not to let people in but to keep them out. The melting pot had as rich a mixture as it would ever have.

In a populous and economically sophisticated society, the "give me your tired, your poor" sentiment of Emma Lazarus was as irrelevant as the frontier and the town meeting. It was an inevitable development, but there were sad songs for the old idea. Immigration was the vital, convulsive force of growth; it thinned class lines, broadened politics, and confirmed liberalism as the dominant strain in American life. In the sweeping, restrictive Immigration Act of 1924, Congress dignified as policy all that Americans held as prejudice. Quotas for immigration were established that were supposed to freeze the ethnic components of the community as they existed in 1920. It was bad sociology and worse democracy. And it has not changed appreciably to this day.

But like so many bad laws, it has continued more firmly in policy than practice. The "national origins" formula of immigration has been dishonored a thousand times, by its most vocal supporters no less than its outraged critics. Despite its conspicuous reaffirmation in the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, there were many ways around the rules: special laws were passed for refugees, almost the whole Western Hemisphere was excluded from quotas because of Good Neighbor politeness, and certain close relatives of American citizens were let in outside their country's quota. At every session of Congress, private bills were passed to admit aliens with special hardships. Last year, only a third of the 300,000 immigrants who slipped around or were pushed under the closed door came in according to quota.

The national origins system is based on the well-established American belief that Anglo-Saxons in particular, and Northern Europeans in general, are the right kind of people. Under the assumption that American society in 1920 was a completely melted pot, an evenly distributed mixture of 653.36 British-Americans, 11.75 Danish-Americans, and 5.67 Italo-Americans for every one Libyan or Albanian, the quotas were fixed. Presumably, 1920 was the last safe year of the century; in any case, it was reconfirmed as the statistical standard in the McCarran-Walter Act 32 years later. The system worked well for Europe, but it was inadequate to deal with Asians, who were excluded on race as well as nationality. As for Africa, despite the rather impressive ethnic contribution its people have made in the US, not one of its countries has a quota of more than 100.

Since 1952, there have been major changes in immigration law. In times of crisis – volcanic eruption in the Azores or political persecution in Cuba – Congress has exercised its compassion and has let in extra refugees. But although four Presidents have urged reform of the national origins system, the McCarran-Walter formula remains intact. After the 82nd Congress overrode President Truman's veto of the Act in 1952, a Presidential commission was appointed under Philip B. Perlman to restudy immigration policy. Its report, called "Whom We Shall Welcome," became the essential argument for reform. Bitterly, the commission attacked the immigration laws: "[they] flout fundamental American traditions and ideals, display a lack of faith in America's future, damage American prestige and position among other nations."

During his campaign for the Presidency, Senator John F. Kennedy produced a booklet with the Anti-Defamation League called " A Nation of Immigrants," which was later revised and posthumously published in book form. It was a popular, romantic history of immigration, not so wide as Oscar Handlin or as deep as Philip Perlman, but it served as the source of Kennedy's later message to Congress, and the first Administration immigration bill, submitted to the House of Representatives on July 23, 1963, by Representative Emanuel Celler. That bill, which has been reintroduced this year, would dismantle the unequal quota system over a period of five years, establish a "preference" schedule based on skills and talents rather than race or nationality, and adjust various provisions which had worked unnecessary hardships. The total authorized immigration would rise by only a few thousand; but because some of the authorized quotas are not now filled, the volume of immigration could go up by about 50,000 a year. In the House, the bill was referred to a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee

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and was not heard of again for eleven months.

The subcommittee had been the domain of the late Representative Francis E. Walter, an absolute though at times benevolent monarch of immigration policy. The evil that Congressmen do does not always live after them; although Walter helped load the tumbrels for his Un-American Activities Committee and sustained the national origins system in immigration, he was more than grudgingly admired even by those who disliked some of his activities. His understanding of immigration law was said to be profound, and his sympathy commensurate to it. He was a master at outwitting the law which bore his own name; from time to time, as visa backlogs mounted, he would promote special bills to let in whole boatloads of worthy immigrants. And in an institution where power counts most of all, he was powerful.

Walter's successor as chairman of the subcommittee is Michael A. Feighan, a Cleveland Democrat who suffered long but not entirely gracefully under Walter's royal rule. His contribution to immigration legislation had not been noticeably large, and when he succeeded to the chairmanship in the spring of 1963, he sought to consolidate for himself some of the power which had been so unevenly distributed in the committee. His attempts did not please his colleagues, or immigration reformers. He picked at Judiciary Committee Chairman Celler, sometimes on the floor of the House; he made the headlines with a denunciation of Richard Burton; he tried to activate a joint Senate-House immigration committee which other Congressmen would have liked to forget. That joint committee, which has met exactly once in 13 years for less than 10 minutes, is in itself not a conspicuously bad idea. In the hands of a capricious chairman, however, it could delay reforms or promote unpleasant investigations. Walter had enough power without it. Feighan sought the chairmanship and an appropriation of $140,000.

The sticky business of immigration reform affects the thousands of private bills which seek exceptions to immigration restrictions. If the laws were liberalized, the political mileage in private bills would be reduced. The value of the bills is rooted more in Congress than the home districts; few politicians still hand out Christmas baskets. It is much more rewarding for a Congressman to use private bills like political green stamps, worthless in themselves but exchangeable one distant day for a sizable gift.

For one reason or another, Feighan let the Celler bill lie untended and unheard until either a sudden interest in reform or a surprisingly tough primary fight convinced him to schedule hearings last summer. Pressure was building from many sides; President Johnson invited Feighan to fly with him to Cleveland, and on board the plane Presidential aide Jack Valenti chatted about immigration. Feighan's new interest in the legislation was enormous. But the hearings dragged on in the House (there were only a few desultory sessions in the Senate) through six weeks of August and September. Witnesses for the American Legion and the National Economic Council, Inc., vied with emissaries from the Organization to Preserve Samoan Democracy and the ACLU, and the only discernible result was a tedious stand-off. Feighan meanwhile had introduced a bill of his own which did nothing to change the national origins philosophy, and at the end, he could not even muster a quorum to report out a bill.

But this year, President Johnson made immigration reform a high priority item on his legislative list, and for the first time since 1952 it has a chance. The sainted "Manny" Celler allowed the "addition" (some dare call it "packing") of four new seats on the subcommittee, and there is now a reform-minded majority all around. Feighan himself may offer a new bill which is said to abolish the national origins criteria but perhaps cut the tiny total of yearly immigration (it amounts to about two-tenths of one percent of the US population). He ferociously opposes an Administration plan to set up a mixed Executive and Congressional immigration policy board.

In the Senate, things have started off bouncily. Senator James O. Eastland, whose Judiciary subcommittee considers such matters, absented himself from the first hearings and left a very charming Senator Edward Kennedy to greet Attorney General Katzenbach. Like Feighan, Eastland knows that there are enough votes on his full committee to report out a bill, and he may look the other way while it is being done.

Both subcommittee chairmen may feel pressure from the White House, but at bottom they know that the fight on national origins is already over; it remains for Congress to confirm the general agreement. They know, too, that the door will stay shut to wholesale immigration. There have been some wild predictions about the opening of floodgates and the influx of criminals and Communists, but no one in the Administration or Congress has plans to loosen the restrictions significantly. No more wretched refuse for these shores; the best America will do is to take the rich, skillful or related few who qualify on some standard less arbitrary than their race or place of birth. But who are the qualified? At one point in the Senate hearings during an abrasive exchange between Katzenbach and Senator Sam Ervin, the Attorney General demanded:

"Do you think, Senator, that a maid from Ireland really will contribute more to the United States than a trained doctor from an Asian country?"

Senator Ervin smiled shyly at Senator Kennedy, "Oh, I don't know," he said.

ANDREW KOPKIND

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Interview with Mao

by Edgar Snow

Peking

In a rare interview which lasted about four hours, Mao Tse-tung conversed with me on topics ranging over what he himself called *shan nan hai pei*, or "from south of the mountains to north of the seas." With China's bountiful 200-million-ton 1964 grain harvest taxing winter storage capacities, with shops everywhere offering inexpensive foods and consumer goods necessities, and with technological and scientific advances climaxed by an atomic bang that saluted Khrushchev's political demise, Chairman Mao might well have claimed a few creative achievements. I found him reflecting on man's rendezvous with death and ready to leave the assessment of his political legacy to future generations.

The 72-year-old warrior greeted me in one of the spacious Peking-decor rooms of the Great Hall of the People, across the wide square facing Tien An Men, the Heavenly Peace Gate of the former Forbidden City. During our conversation he repeatedly thanked foreign invaders for speeding up the Chinese revolution and for bestowing similar favors in Southeast Asia today. He asserted that China has no troops outside her own frontiers and has no intention of fighting anybody unless her own territory is attacked. He observed that the more American weapons and troops brought into Saigon, the faster the South Vietnamese liberation forces would become armed and educated to win victory. By now they did not need the help of Chinese troops.

EDGAR SNOW *has reported, often at first-hand, on the Chinese Communists before and since their conquest of the mainland. In the thirties, he was assistant editor of the* China Weekly Review, *correspondent for the* Chicago Tribune, *lecturer at Yenching University in Peking. He covered the Sino-Japanese war in 1931-1933 and 1937-41. Formerly an associate editor of the* Saturday Evening Post *and a correspondent for* Look *magazine, he is the author of* Red Star Over China, The Battle for Asia, *and* The Other Side of the River: Red China Today. *The interview with Mao Tse-tung published here took place several weeks ago, during a two-month visit to China, before the recent US and South Vietnamese air strikes against North Vietnam.*

At the start of our conversation Chairman Mao agreed to be photographed informally in a film I believe to be the first ever made of him for foreign television. From this film political clinicians may make their own diagnosis of his condition, lately rumored to be much deteriorated. On January 9, coming at the end of strenuous weeks of daily and nightly conferences with many regional leaders drawn to the capital for the annual National People's Congress, his talk with me might have been more speedily terminated by a sick man. He seemed wholly relaxed throughout our conversation, which began before six, continued during dinner and went on for about two hours after.

One of the chairman's doctors informed me that Mao has no organic troubles and suffers from nothing beyond the normal fatigue of his age. He ate moderately of a peppery Hunanese meal shared with me and drank a glass or two of wine, rather perfunctorily.

It was reported abroad that other "government officials" were present during my interview. These officials were two friends from pre-revolutionary days in China: Mme. Kung Peng, now an assistant to the Chinese Foreign Minister, and her husband, Chiao Kuan-hua, an assistant minister in the same department. I submitted no written questions and took no notes during the interview. Fortunately I was able to refresh my memory by reviewing the conversation with one of those present who had kept a written record. It was agreed that I might publish, without direct quotation, such of the chairman's comment as is given below.

"Some American commentators in Saigon have compared the strength of the Viet Cong there with the 1947 period in China, when the People's Liberation Army began to engage in large-scale annihilations of Nationalist forces. Are the conditions comparable?"

The chairman thought not. By 1947 the People's Liberation Army already had more than a million men, against several million troops on Chiang Kai-shek's side. The PLA had then used divisional and group army strength, whereas the Vietnamese liberation forces were now operating at battalion or at most regimental strength. American forces in Vietnam were still relatively small. Of course, if they increased they could help speed up the arming of the people against

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them. But if he should tell that to United States leaders they would not listen. Had they listened to Diem? Both Ho Chi Minh and he (Mao Tse-tung) thought that Ngo Dinh Diem was not so bad. They had expected the Americans to maintain him for several more years. But impatient American generals became disgusted with Diem and got rid of him. After all, following his assassination, was everything between heaven and earth more peaceful?

"Can Viet Cong forces now win victory by their own efforts alone?" Yes, he thought that they could. Their position was relatively better than that of the Communists during the first civil war (1927-37) in China. At that time there was no direct foreign intervention, but now already the Viet Cong had the American intervention to help arm and educate the rank and file and the army officers. Those opposed to the United States were no longer confined to the liberation army. Diem had not wanted to take orders. Now this independence had spread to the generals. The American teachers were succeeding. Asked whether some of these generals would soon join the liberation army, Mao said yes, some would follow the example of Kuomintang generals who had turned to the Communists.

The "Third World"

"United States intervention in Vietnam, the Congo and other former colonial battlefields, suggests a question of some theoretical interest as seen within Marxist concepts. The question is whether the contradiction between neo-colonialism and the revolutionary forces in what the French like to call the 'third world' – the so-called underdeveloped or ex-colonial or still colonial nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America – is today the principal political contradiction in the world? Or do you consider that the basic contradiction is still one between the capitalist countries themselves?"

Mao Tse-tung said that he had not reached an opinion about that but he recalled something that President Kennedy had said. Had Kennedy not declared that as far as the United States, Canada and Western Europe were concerned, there was not much real and basic difference? The President had said that the problem was in the Southern Hemisphere. In advocating "special forces warfare" training for "local [countersubversive?] warfare" the late President may have had my question in mind.

On the other hand, contradictions between imperialists were what had caused two world wars in the past, and their struggles against colonial revolutions had not changed their character. If one looked at France one saw two reasons for de Gaulle's policies. The first was to assert independence from American domination. The second was to attempt to adjust French policies to changes occurring in the Asian-African countries and Latin America. The result was intensified contradiction between the capitalist nations, but was France part of its so-called "third world"? Recently he had asked some French visitors about that and they had told him no, that France was a developed country and could not be a member of the "third world" of undeveloped countries. The matter was not so simple.

"Perhaps it could be said that France is in the third world but not of it?"

Perhaps. This question which had engaged the interest of President Kennedy had led Kennedy, Mao had read, to study Mao's own essays on military operations. Mao had also learned from Algerian friends during their struggle against France that the French were reading his works and using his information against them. But he had told the Algerian Prime Minister, Abbas, at that time, that his own books were based on Chinese experience and would not work in reverse. They could be adapted only to the waging of people's wars of liberation and were rather useless in an anti-people's war. They did not save the French from defeat in Algeria. Chiang Kai-shek had also studied the Communists' materials but he had not been saved either.

Mao remarked that the Chinese also study American books. For instance, he had read *The Uncertain Trumpet* by General Taylor, the United States Ambassador in Saigon. General Taylor's view was that nuclear weapons probably would not be used, therefore non-nuclear arms would decide. Taylor wanted priority given to the Army. Now he had his chance to test out his theories of special warfare. In Vietnam he was gaining some valuable experience.

The chairman had also read some articles issued by US authorities to their troops on how to handle guerrillas. These instructions dealt with the shortcomings and military weaknesses of the guerrillas and held out hopes for American victory. They ignored the decisive political fact that whether it was Diem or somebody else, governments cut off from the masses could not win against wars of liberation.

Since the Americans would not listen to Chairman Mao, his advice would do nobody any harm.

"In Southeast Asia as well as in India and certain countries of Africa and even Latin America, there exist some social conditions comparable to those that brought on the Chinese revolution. Each country has its own problems, and solutions will vary widely, yet I wonder if you agree that social revolutions will occur which may borrow much from the Chinese?"

Anti-feudal and anti-capitalist sentiments combined with opposition to imperialism and neo-colonialism, he replied, grew out of oppression and wrongs of the past. Wherever the latter existed there would be revolutions,

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but in most of the countries I was talking about, the people were merely seeking national independence, not socialism – quite another matter. European countries had also had anti-feudal revolutions. Though the United States had had no real feudal period, still it had fought a progressive war of independence from British colonialism, and then a civil war to establish a free labor market. Washington and Lincoln had been great men of the time.

"Among the roughly three-fifths of the earth which belongs in the third world category, very acute problems exist, as we know. The gap between the ratio of population growth and growth of production is growing more disadvantageous. The gap between their ever-falling standard of living and that of the affluent countries is rapidly widening. Under such conditions, will time wait for the Soviet Union to demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system – and then wait a century for parliamentarianism to arise in the underdeveloped areas and peacefully establish socialism?"

Mao thought that it would not wait so long.

I asked whether that question did not perhaps touch upon the nexus of China's ideological dispute with the Soviet Union. He agreed that it did.

"Do you think it would be possible to complete not only the national liberation of emerging nations of the third world, but also their modernization, without another world war?"

Use of the word "complete" must give one pause, he said. Most of the countries concerned were still very far from socialist revolutions. In some there were no Communist Parties at all, while in others there were only revisionists. It was said that Latin America had 20 Communist Parties and of these 18 had issued resolutions against China. One thing was certain. Where severe oppression existed there would be revolution.

China and the Bomb

"Do you still believe that the bomb is a paper tiger?"

That had just been a way of talking, he said, a kind of figure of speech. Of course the bomb could kill people. But in the end the people would destroy the bomb. Then it would truly become a paper tiger.

"You have been quoted as saying that China had less fear of the bomb than other nations because of her vast population. Other peoples might be totally wiped out, but China would still have a few hundred millions left to begin anew. Was there ever any factual basis to such reports?"

He answered that he had no recollection of saying anything like that but he might have said it. He did recall a conversation he had had with Jawaharlal Nehru, when the latter visited China (in 1954). As he remembered it, he had said China did not want a war. They didn't have atom bombs, but if other countries wanted to fight there would be a catastrophe in the whole world, meaning that many people would die. As for how many, nobody could know. He was not speaking only of China. He did not believe one atom bomb would destroy all mankind, so that you would not be able to find a government to negotiate peace. He mentioned this to Nehru during their conversation. Nehru said that he was chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission of India and he knew about the destructiveness of atomic power. He was sure that no one could survive. Mao replied that it would probably not be as Nehru said. Existing governments might disappear but others would arise to replace them.

Not so long ago, Khrushchev said that he had a deadly weapon capable of killing all living things. But then he immediately retracted his statement – not only once but many times. Mao would not deny anything he had said, nor did he wish me to deny for him this so-called rumor (about China's millions' power of survival in a nuclear war).

Americans also had said very much about the destructiveness of the atom bomb and Khrushchev had made a big noise about that. They had all surpassed him in this respect, so that he was more backward than they, was not that so? Yet recently he had read reports of an investigation by Americans who visited the Bikini Islands six years after nuclear tests had been conducted there. From 1959 onward research workers had been in Bikini. When they first entered the island they had had to cut open paths through the undergrowth. They found mice scampering about and fish swimming in the streams as usual. The wellwater was potable, plantation foliage was flourishing, and birds were twittering in the trees. Probably there had been two bad years after the tests, but nature had gone on. In the eyes of nature and the birds, the mice and the trees, the atom bomb was a paper tiger. Possibly man has less stamina than they?

"Nevertheless, you would not exactly consider nuclear war to be a good thing?"

Certainly not, he replied. If one must fight one should confine oneself to conventional weapons.

Indonesia had withdrawn from the United Nations, I observed, accompanied by applause from China. Did Mao Tse-tung think the move would set a precedent and that other withdrawals would follow?

Mao said that it was the United States which had first set the precedent, by excluding China from the United Nations. Now that a majority of nations might favor restoring China's seat despite US opposition, there was a new scheme to require a two-thirds majority instead of a simple majority. But the question was, did China gain or lose by being outside the UN during the past 15 years? Indonesia had left because

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NEXT WEEK

"Land of the White Hunter"

The article by Joan Colebrook, scheduled for this issue, has been postponed so that Mr. Snow's interview could appear.

THE EDITORS

she felt that there was not much advantage to remaining in the UN. As for China, was it not in itself a United Nations? Any one of several of China's minority nationalities was larger in population and territory than some states in the UN whose votes had helped deprive China of her seat there. China was a large country with plenty of work to keep her busy outside the UN.

"Is it now practicable to consider forming a union of nations excluding the United States?"

Mao pointed out that such forums already existed. One example was the Afro-Asian conference. Another was GANEFO – Games of the New Emerging Forces – organized after the United States excluded China from the Olympics.

(Preparations for the Afro-Asian conference scheduled to open in Algiers in March had been plagued by many problems. These included the Indonesia-Malaysia dispute, and insistence on the part of the pro-China Bandung powers that the USSR must be excluded from the conference, as a strictly European power. There is reason to believe that China regards the Afro-Asian organization as the potential center of planned development of a third world largely independent of neo-colonial or Western capital. Following Chinese principles of "self-reliance" in internal development, and of mutual help between the Afro-Asian states, the process of modernization might be so speeded up as to bypass the slow and painful method of capital accumulation by traditional bourgeois means. Such a theoretical alternative would of course imply more rapid and radical political evolution and an earlier arrival at pre-socialist conditions in the capital-poor Afro-Asian states. Outside the context of this interview, it may be added that it has been obvious for some time that the Afro-Asian conference is also viewed as a potential permanent assembly of the have-not nations, to exist independently from the American-dominated United Nations from which China and her closest allies have long been excluded and which Indonesia has recently left.)

"In fact, Mr. Chairman, how many people are there inside China's own 'United Nations'?" I asked. "Can you give me a population figure resulting from the recent census?"

The chairman replied that he really did not know. Some said that there were 680 to 690 million, but he did not believe it. How could there be so many? When I suggested that it ought not to be difficult to calculate, on the basis of ration coupons (cotton and rice) alone, he indicated that the peasants had sometimes confused the picture. Before liberation they had hidden births and kept some off the register out of fear of having them conscripted. Since liberation there had been a tendency to report greater numbers and less land, and to minimize output returns while exaggerating the effects of calamities. Nowadays a new birth is reported at once, but if someone dies it may not be reported for months. (His implication seemed to be that extra ration coupons could be accumulated in that way.) No doubt there had been a real decline in the birth rate, but the peasants were still too slow to adopt family planning. There had been a decline in the birth rate but the decline in the death rate was even greater. Longevity had increased from about 30 years of age to a life expectancy of around 50.

That was the kind of answer, I said, which was calculated to give foreign professors lots of work to do. What kind of professors were those, Mao asked?

He was interested to hear that I had attended a conference where professors had debated whether he had or had not made any original contributions to Marxism. I told him that I had asked one professor, at the close of such a conference, whether it would make any difference in their controversy if it could be shown that Mao himself had never claimed to have made any creative contribution. The professor said, "No."

Mao was amused. More than 2,000 years ago, he remarked, Chuang Chou wrote his immortal essay on Lao Tzu (called the *Chuang Tzu*). A hundred schools of thought then arose to dispute the meaning.

Mao's Writings

In 1960, when I had last seen Mao Tse-tung, I asked him whether he had ever written or had any intention of writing an "autobiography." He had replied in the negative. Nevertheless, learned professors had discovered "autobiographies" written by Mao. The fact that they were fraudulent did not in the least affect their documentary terminology.

A question currently exercising the professors was whether Mao had in fact written his celebrated philosophical essays *On Contradictions* and *On Practice* in the summer of 1937, as asserted in his collected works, or whether they had really been composed later.

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He replied that he had indeed written them in the summer of 1937. During the weeks preceding and immediately following the Liukouchiao incident, there had been a lull in his life in Yenan. The army had left for the front and Mao had found time in which to collect materials for some lectures on basic philosophy for use in the anti-Japanese academy. Some simple and yet fundamental text was needed for the young students being prepared, in brief, three-month courses, for political guidance during the years immediately ahead. At the insistence of the party Mao prepared *On Contradictions* and *On Practice* to sum up the experiences of the Chinese revolution, by combining the essentials of Marxism with concrete and everyday Chinese examples. Mao wrote most of the night and slept during the day. What he had written over a period of weeks he delivered in lecture form in a matter of two hours. Mao added that he himself considered *On Practice* a more important essay than *On Contradictions*. As for a treatise entitled *On Dialectical Materialism*, which has been attributed to Mao's authorship by foreign Sinologists, he said that he had no recollection of having written any such work and he thought he would not have forgotten it had he done so.

"Youths who heard you lecture at Yenan later learned about revolution in practice but what could be the substitute for youths in China today?"

Mao said that of course those in China now under the age of 20 had never fought a war and never seen an imperialist or known capitalism in power. They knew nothing about the old society at first hand. Parents could tell them, but to hear about history and to read books was not the same thing as living it.

"Is the current emphasis on indoctrination of students with revolutionary principles and manual labor practice intended primarily to safeguard the future of socialism inside China or to teach Chinese youth that that security can never be guaranteed until socialism is victorious everywhere? Or are both aims inseparable?"

For the moment he did not directly answer the question. He asked what nation could really be said to have security? All the governments were talking about it and at the same time talking about complete and total disarmament. China herself had proposed general disarmament since a long time past. So had the Soviet Union. The US kept talking about it. What we were getting instead was complete rearmament.

"President Johnson may find it difficult to settle problems in the East one by one," I said. "Perhaps if he desired to expose the world to the real complexity of those problems he might do worse than cut to the heart of the matter by accepting China's proposal to hold a summit conference to consider the total destruction of nuclear weapons."

Chairman Mao agreed but concluded that it would be quite impossible. Even if Mr. Johnson himself desired such a meeting, he was after all but a steward for the monopoly capitalists, and they would never permit it. China had had only one atomic explosion and perhaps it had to be proved that one could divide into two, and so *ad infinitum*. Yet China did not want a lot of bombs, which were really quite useless, since probably no nation dared employ them. A few would suffice for scientific experiments. Even one bomb was not liked in China's hands, however. Mao feared that his reputation was against him. The imperialists did not like him. Yet was it really right to blame China for everything and start anti-Chinese movements? Did China kill Ngo Dinh Diem? And yet that had happened. When the assassination of President Kennedy occurred, the Chinese were quite surprised. They had not planned that. Once more, they were quite surprised when Khrushchev was removed in Russia.

The View of Khrushchev

"Western commentators, and especially the Italian Communists, severely criticized the Soviet leaders for the conspiratorial and undemocratic way in which Khrushchev was thrown aside. What is your view?"

He replied that Mr. K had not been very popular in China even before his fall. Few portraits of him were to be seen. But K's books were for sale in the bookstores before the fall and they were still for sale here but not in Russia. The world needed Khrushchev: his ghost would linger on. There were bound to be people who liked him. China would miss him as a negative example.

"On the basis of your own 70/30 standard – that is, a man's work may be judged satisfactory if it is 70 percent correct and only 30 percent in error – how would you grade the present leadership of the Soviet party? How far is it still below passing?" I asked.

Mao said he would not choose to discuss the present leaders in those terms. As for any improvement in Sino-Soviet relations, there was possibly some but not much. The disappearance of Khrushchev had perhaps only removed a target for polemical articles.

"In the Soviet Union," I said, "China has been criticized for fostering a 'cult of personality'."

Mao thought that perhaps there was some. It was said that Stalin had been the center of a cult of personality, and that Khrushchev had none at all. The Chinese people, critics say, have some (feelings or practices of this kind). There might be some reasons for saying that. Was it possible, he asked, that Mr. K fell because he had no cult of personality at all?

"Naturally I personally regret that forces of history have divided and separated the American and Chinese peoples from virtually all communication during the

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past 15 years. Today the gulf seems broader than ever. However, I myself do not believe it will end in war and one of history's major tragedies."

Mao said that forces of history were also bound, eventually, to bring the two peoples together again; that day would surely come. Possibly I was right that meanwhile there would be no war. That could occur only if American troops came to China. They would not really get much out of it. That simply would not be allowed. Probably the American leaders knew that and consequently they would not invade China. Then there would be no war, because the Chinese certainly would never send troops to attack the United States.

"What of the possibilities of war arising over Vietnam? I have read many newspaper stories indicating that the United States has considered expanding the war into North Vietnam."

No, Mao said, he thought otherwise. Mr. Rusk had now made it clear that the US would not do that. Mr. Rusk may have earlier said something like that, but now he had corrected himself and said that he had never made such a statement. Therefore, there need not be any war in North Vietnam.

"I do not believe that the makers and administrators of United States policy understand you," I said.

Why not? China's armies would not go beyond her borders to fight. That was clear enough. Only if the United States attacked China would the Chinese fight. Wasn't that clear? The Chinese were very busy with their internal affairs. Fighting beyond one's own borders was criminal. Why should the Chinese do that? The Vietnamese could cope with their situation.

"American officials repeatedly say that if United States forces were withdrawn from Vietnam, then all Southeast Asia would be overrun."

The question was, said Mao, "overrun" by whom? Overrun by Chinese or overrun by the inhabitants? China was "overrun," but only by Chinese.

No Troops Outside China

In reply to a specific question, the chairman affirmed that there were no Chinese forces in Northern Vietnam or anywhere else in Southeast Asia. China had no troops outside her own frontiers.

(In another context, it was said that unless Indian troops again crossed China's frontiers, there would be no conflict there.)

"Dean Rusk has often stated that if China would give up her aggressive policies then the United States would withdraw from Vietnam. What does he mean?"

Mao replied that China had no policies of aggression to abandon. China had committed no acts of aggression. China gave support to revolutionary movements but not by sending troops. Of course, whenever a liberation struggle existed China would publish statements and call demonstrations to support it. It was precisely that which vexed the imperialists.

Mao went on to say that on some occasions China deliberately makes a loud noise, as for example around Quemoy and Matsu. A flurry of shots there could attract a lot of attention, perhaps because the Americans were uneasy so far away from home. Consider what could be accomplished by firing some blank shells within those Chinese territorial waters. Not so long ago the United States 7th Fleet in the Taiwan Strait was deemed insufficient to reply to the shells. The US also dispatched part of its 6th Fleet in this direction and brought over part of the Navy from San Francisco. Arrived here, they had found nothing to do, so it seemed that China could order the American forces to march here, to march there. It had been the same with Chiang Kai-shek's army. They had been able to order Chiang to scurry this way and then to hurry off in another direction. Of course when Navy men are warm and have full bellies they must be given something to do. But how was it that shooting off empty guns at home could be called aggression, while those who actually intervened with arms and bombed and burned people of other lands were not aggressors?

He continued: some Americans had said that the Chinese revolution was led by Russian aggressors, but in truth the Chinese revolution was armed by Americans. In the same way the Vietnamese revolution was also being armed by Americans, not by China. The liberation forces had not only greatly improved their supplies of American weapons during recent months but also expanded their forces by recruiting American-trained troops and officers from the puppet armies of South Vietnam. China's liberation forces had grown in numbers and strength by recruiting to their side the troops trained and armed by the Americans for Chiang Kai-shek. The movement was called "changing of hats." When Nationalist soldiers changed hats in large numbers because they knew the peasants would kill them for wearing the wrong hat, then the end was near. "Changing hats" was becoming more popular now among the Vietnamese puppets.

Mao said that the conditions of revolutionary victory in China had been, first, that the ruling group was weak and incompetent, led by a man who was always losing battles. Second, the People's Liberation Army was strong and able and people believed in its cause. In places where such conditions did not prevail the Americans could intervene. Otherwise, they would stay away or soon leave.

"Do you mean that the circumstances of victory for the liberation front now exist in South Vietnam?"

Mao thought that the American forces were not yet ready to leave. Fighting would go on perhaps for one

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to two years. After that the United States troops would find it boring and might go home or somewhere else.

"Is it your policy now to insist upon the withdrawal of United States forces before participating in a Geneva conference to discuss the international position of a unified Vietnam?"

The chairman said that several possibilities should be mentioned. First, a conference might be held and United States withdrawal would follow. Second, the conference might be deferred until after the withdrawal. Third, a conference might be held but United States troops might stay around Saigon, as in the case of South Korea. Finally, the South Vietnamese front might drive out the Americans without any conference or international agreement. The 1954 Geneva conference had provided for the withdrawal of French troops from all Indochina and forbade any intervention by any other foreign troops. The United States had nevertheless violated the convention and that could happen again.

"Under existing circumstances," I asked, "do you really see any hope of an improvement in Sino-American relations?"

Going to See God Soon

Yes, he thought there was hope. It would take time. Maybe there would be no improvement in his generation. He was soon going to see God. According to the laws of dialectics all contradictions must finally be resolved, including the struggle of the individual.

"Judging from this evening you seem to be in good condition," I said.

Mao Tse-tung smiled wryly and replied that there was perhaps some doubt about that. He said again that he was getting ready to see God very soon.

"I wonder if you mean you are going to find out whether there is a God. Do you believe that?"

No, he did not. But some people who claimed to be well-informed said that there was a God. There seemed to be many gods and sometimes the same god could take all sides. In the wars of Europe the Christian God had been on the side of the British, the French, the Germans, and so on, even when they were fighting each other. At the time of the Suez Canal crisis God was united behind the British and French, but then there was Allah to back up the other side.

At dinner Mao had mentioned that both his brothers had been killed. His first wife had also been executed during the revolution and their son had been killed during the Korean War. Now he said that it was odd that death had so far passed him by. He had been prepared for it many times but death just did not seem to want him. What could he do? On several occasions it had seemed that he would die. His personal bodyguard was killed while standing right beside him. Once he was splashed all over with the blood of another soldier, but the bomb had not touched him. There had been other narrow escapes.

After a moment of silence Mao said that he had, as I knew, begun life as a primary school teacher. He had then had no thought of fighting wars. Neither had he thought of becoming a Communist. He was more or less a democratic personage such as myself. Later on, he sometimes wondered by what chance combination of reasons he had become interested in founding the Chinese Communist Party. Anyway, events did not move in accordance with the individual human will. What mattered was that China had been oppressed by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism.

"Man makes his own history, but he makes it in accordance with his environment," I quoted. "You have fundamentally changed the environment in China. Many wonder what the younger generation bred under easier conditions will do. What do you think about it."

He also could not know, he said. He doubted that anyone could be sure. There were two possibilities. There could be continued development of the revolution toward Communism, the other possibility was that youth could negate the revolution, and give a poor performance: make peace with imperialism, bring the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek clique back to the mainland, and take a stand beside the small percentage of counter-revolutionaries still in the country. Of course he did not hope for counter-revolution. But future events would be decided by future generations, and in accordance with conditions we could not foresee. From the long-range view, future generations ought to be more knowledgeable than we are, just as men of the bourgeois-democratic era were more knowledgeable than those of the feudal ages. Their judgment would prevail, not ours. The youth of today and those to come after them would assess the work of the revolution in accordance with values of their own. Mao's voice dropped away, and he half closed his eyes. Man's condition on this earth was changing with ever increasing rapidity. A thousand years from now all of them, he said, even Marx, Engels and Lenin, would possibly appear rather ridiculous.

Mao Tse-tung walked me through the doorway and, despite my protests, saw me to my car, where he stood alone for a moment, coatless in the sub-zero Peking night, to wave me farewell in the traditional manner of that ancient cultured city. I saw no security guards around the entrance, nor can I now recall having seen even one armed bodyguard in our vicinity all evening. As the car drove away I looked back and watched Mao brace his shoulders and slowly retrace his steps, leaning heavily on the arm of an aide, into the Great Hall of the People.

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West from the Graveyard

by Eleanor Dienstag

Annual Graveyard Working Day is to William Humphrey what bullfighting was to Hemingway: a ritual which perfectly externalizes his obsession. Hemingway's was courage and manliness and dying properly. Humphrey's is the subtle interactions of family (kin) and place (northeast Texas) and history (the Civil War), and their ultimate molding of character. These themes

The Ordways
by William Humphrey
(Knopf: $5.95)

were powerfully at work in his first novel, *Home from the Hill* and, as in his second, *The Ordways*, were similarly introduced on a Graveyard Working Day in the 1930's. It is an occasion when scattered, rural families are reunited by the duty of tending their ancestors' graves. In the process of weeding, raking, erecting headstones, removing old wreaths and depositing new ones, the elders transmit, like oral historians, the family folklore (skeletons and all) to the younger kin. So fascinating and complex a tradition is it to Humphrey that he lingers over its pageantry as excessively as the nation's TV cameras over a state funeral. There are lengthy family introductions, meditations upon the Civil War, upon slavery, local history, local geography ("To grow up a boy in Clarksville . . . was to be a double dreamer. For there where the woods joined the prairie was the frontier where two legends met. . . ."). and, finally upon the mystery that is the Southern spirit ("It is with kin, not causes, that the Southerner is linked. . . . It is this feeling of identity with his dead – who are the past – which characterizes and explains the Southerner"). All this, accompanied by a staggering exchange of food, the narrator's recollections of grandparental affection, and a bit of pre-election politicking, makes one genuinely regret the tradition never became a national one, but genuinely fearful that Mr. Humphrey's dawdling in the graveyard will go on forever.

The story does begin, at last, with the terrible ordeal of Thomas and Ella Ordway who, like many other Americans, tried to escape the memory of the Civil War by heading West. The Ordways's trek from Tennessee to Texas, and its retelling, reverberates with biblical echoes: ". . . And once a year . . . that son whom he never saw but knew only by touch, now grown old, would like a Jewish patriarch at the Passover *seder* answering the questions of the youngest male child, recount our exodus, led by that blind and crippled Moses of our tribe."

However, it is less Thomas Ordway, blinded and legs shattered at the battle of Shiloh, than his wife Ella who, like the indomitable heroine of a silent movie, emerges as the true founder of the Texas clan. After keeping her husband from suicide and rekindling his spirit by lying next to him (though his wounds emitted a terrible stench and would forever after), she leads the ox-drawn wagon forward. Weighted with children, headstones and kegs containing the disinterred bones of earlier Ordways, the wagon creeps through a still-warring South, retraces Thomas's fatal steps at Shiloh and crosses, almost miraculously, the Red River.

Thomas and Ella's world is filled with black tragedy from beginning to end. To endure, honor the dead and keep sacred the family ties is to succeed. It is movingly and chillingly recounted, down to the minutest aspect of Ella's housekeeping. In fact, Humphrey's talents as an historian, his ability to flesh out the average man's habits, attitudes and utensils, as well as the battles and landscape of the period is so astonishing as to make it difficult to remember we are reading fiction and not the diaries of a real family.

The first section of *The Ordways*, then, prepares us for a realistic, grim piece of Americana, and Part Two, "The Stepchild," mostly confirms this expectation, for it introduces us to Sam Ordway, son of Thomas, a poor farmer at the turn of the century whose first wife dies giving birth to her third child, "Little Ned." But suddenly, halfway into the novel, forewarned only by the melodramatic title of Part Three, "Sam Ordway's Revenge," a curious and abrupt shift in tone takes place. What has begun as a stark meditative book about a courageous, backbone-of-America family, gradually turns into a comedy, a wild comedy and finally, broad, pie-in-the-face farce.

When "Little Ned" is kidnaped by his neighbor Will Vinson, Sam Ordway sets out after him and, as though parodying the westward impulse of his father, continues the Ordway journey as far as the lush arcadia of Spanish Texas.

Sam, who 30 years later holds his grandson spellbound with his tale, is neither the Lone Ranger nor John Wayne, despite the fact that he is packing a pistol and out to avenge his honor. He is more the beloved country bumpkin, a Jimmy Stewart, revered by white-haired ladies. Incapable of holding a grudge, even against his son's kidnaper, innocent enough to compliment a widow on her pecan pie without a thought to what made her whip out the pie in the first place, the mock-heroic figure of Sam Ordway wends its

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way in and out of a series of increasingly hilarious adventures.

There are some outstanding scenes and personalities which, when one thinks about them, are almost badland-Western clichés, but nevertheless come brilliantly alive under Humphrey's masterful prose and slightly offbeat variations: the Reverend Teague, swindler extraordinaire, and Senator "Cousin Cliff" Venable delivering a co'n-pone speech that calls to mind our own "Hi Y'all" Johnson.

Midway through Texas, broke and still unable to give up his search (for, as in all crime and punishment sagas, the emotional bonds with his enemy have tightened), Sam becomes assistant handler to Topsy the Elephant in a tenth-rate circus, hoping the shabby glories of the circus will draw to it Will Vinson and "Little Ned." When, however, Topsy breaks loose, crashes into a backwoods still and drinks up two vats before collapsing into a drunken stupor, you begin to get the idea that Humphrey has suddenly tasted the joys of slapstick comedy and is no longer capable of resisting them. The search and the humorous reversal of the kinship obsession become secondary to the adventures themselves. Nothing surprises us now, including Sam's arrest on a suspicion of murder, his entombment in a cell whose walls have been covered with pornographic biblical frescoes, or the prosecuting attorney's summation, which is probably the novel's crowning absurdity.

The finale to the Ordway story, which takes place in the 1930's, is as improbable and gay as Sam's latter adventures, and culminates in a happy caravan of 62 Ordways in 12 cars, winding across the state for a family reunion so idyllic it would have made the late Louis B. Mayer weep.

The trouble with this ending, as with Sam's experiences and even with Thomas and Ella's *extreme* afflictions is that, in retrospect, they seem fatally tinged by a melodramatic imagination. Which is no doubt one of the reasons why one keeps on thinking, as episodes flash by, of old movie scenes, or even of how easily the book could be adapted to the screen, a Southern counterpart to *How the West Was Won*. Though it is almost impossible to find fault with any specific scenes (except for some slow pacing here and there), the extremes of comedy and tragedy suddenly make you suspicious of both, and at that moment the magic circle of art is broken and you feel robbed of that final and complete pleasure which each masterfully written section led you to expect would be ultimately yours. Nevertheless, *The Ordways* is a richer, denser piece of fiction than *Home from the Hill*.

One peripheral complaint: Though *The Ordways* is fiction, it was annoying to me to find that in a book so tied to a geographical area, the publisher did not include, either as a frontispiece or as endpaper, a map of the Ordway trail.

FOR LIVELY MINDS...

IN MARCH

- Is the American Right Finished? Two Views: David Danzig R. H. Rovere
- Science and Religion: Stephen Toulmin
- China, Russia, and The Experts: George Lichtheim
- Academic Women: Mary Ellmann
- Also . . . an account by Elie Wiesel of his return to the Hungarian village from which he was deported to Auschwitz twenty years ago.
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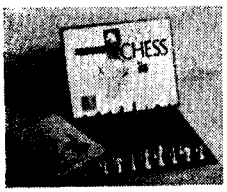

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THEATER

Russian Evenings

Dead Souls
adapted by Mikhail Bulgakov
from the novel by Nikolai Gogol;
The Cherry Orchard
by Anton Chekhov;
The Three Sisters by Anton Chekhov
(Moscow Art Theater;
New York City Center)

The New York visit of the Moscow Art Theater, last seen on these shores in 1924, is probably one of the most eagerly awaited events of recent American theater history. Founded by Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko in 1898, this celebrated company became, as everyone knows, the parent body of such influential American theatrical institutions as the Group Theater and the Actors Studio, while the Stanislavsky system of acting has long functioned as the cornerstone of our own realistic school. Ever since the thirties, however, a good deal of controversy has collected around Lee Strasberg's interpretations of Stanislavsky's techniques, a controversy that has split the American theater right down the middle. Would Stanislavsky have approved of Strasberg's emphasis on emotional memory, his concern with "private moments," or his concentration on the actor at the expense of the play? Would he have sanctioned Strasberg's tendency to probe the psyches of his students, his encouragement of personal exposure, his linking of psychoanalysis and the stage? These questions, technical quibbles to the layman, have by now assumed as much importance among theater practitioners as the heresies of Jung and Adler have among orthodox Freudians. And as Paul Gray points out in an illuminating article recently published in *The Tulane Drama Review*, such questions underlie the continuing professional antagonisms between Strasberg and the Studio, on the one hand, and Stella Adler, Elia Kazan, Sanford Meisner, Robert Lewis, Harold Clurman, and many Group alumni on the other.

The visit of the MAT, therefore, is significant not only for itself but also as a way of resolving these plaguey problems once and for all. And it is clear enough now that, as far as results are concerned, the Stanislavsky System bears about as much relation to the Strasberg Method as caviar does to hot dogs. Russian performing, as a matter of fact, forms a distinct contrast with American naturalistic acting, for it is firm, open, direct, and clearly articulated. The actors attain a high level of emotion without ever spilling over into hysteria; they are never eccentric or neurasthenic; they change personality radically from role to role instead of repeating personal mannerisms; and although they are closely identified with their characters, they are not lost in them. While the Strasberg actor is listening most intently to himself, furthermore, the Stanislavsky actor is most intently listening to others: the Moscow Art Theater obviously tolerates no star personalities, and all the actors play as if there were no such thing as minor roles.

These virtues being listed, it must be added that there is something old-fashioned about the Moscow Art

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Theater, something a little musty and museum-like. It is ironic, for example, when we remember that Stanislavsky revolutionized Russian stage design, to find the MAT reverting, in *Dead Souls*, to wing-and-border draperies. Aside from V. V. Dmitriev's handsome decor for *The Three Sisters*, none of the settings escapes looking antique or unattractive: interiors consist of shaky flats, buckling canvas, and fading colors, and exteriors of fake grass and badly painted perspective backdrops. Then, the company acting – for all its emotional generosity, physical vitality, and intelligence – is in the style of another era. In gesture, it sometimes reminded me of our silent films; in pacing and intonation, of our early talkies – I could imagine Sylvia Sidney in this company, or Margo, giving her performance in *Winterset*. The men brood and pace; the women bat their eyelids, posture, and wring their hands with grief. Performances seem to take place within cameos or picture frames. When the actress playing Masha in *The Three Sisters* expressed a dawning love for Vershinin by tilting her head, smiling gently to herself, and gazing into the distance, I half expected a camera to iris in on her, with mist blurring the edges. That this style of acting – considered naturalistic a few decades ago – should now seem stagey and artificial demonstrates just how much our notions of stage "reality" are subject to change.

There is something clumsy and archaic, too, in Mikhail Bulgakov's adaptation of Gogol's *Dead Souls*, a rendering which reduces that sharp bureaucratic satire to a series of disconnected, repetitious scenes with no forward movement: the play, which does not contain a single sentence not to be found in the novel, simply cries out for more adventurousness on the part of the adapter. As for the production, it is full of variety and charm, but not much lightness of spirit. First directed by Stanislavsky in 1932, it is said to reveal the marked theatricalist influences of Meyerhold and Vakhtangov. I saw evidence, too, of the influence of Dickens novels and Chaplin movies. The actors, made up in the heavily underlined manner of such Chaplin regulars as Mack Swain, Chester Conklin, and Eric Campbell, ambulate in jerky, puppet-like maneuvers; the characters have the exaggerated beefiness of animal caricatures, especially the bearish landowner Sobakevich, played by Alexei Gribov with just the right touch of hugeness, hypocrisy, and greed; and the banquet and crowd scenes are wonderfully precise vignettes of early 19th Century Russian society. But the evening somehow fails to rise off the ground.

Victor Stanitsyn's restaging of the original Stanislavsky version of *The Cherry Orchard* also lacks deftness. The production relies too heavily on Stanislavsky's famous offstage noises (which used to drive Chekhov wild); it mutes the farcical values of the play; and it suffers from an excessively literal setting at odds with the author's symbolic poetry (the second act exterior, for example, is now less an abandoned shrine than a picnic area). Then, a few of the central roles are either misplayed or miscast: Mikhail Zimin's Lopakhin is inexplicably elegant and incomprehensibly forlorn; Pavel Massalsky's Gaev, while very noble, captures little of the escapism implicit in his caramel-eating and imaginary billiard game; the actors playing Yasha and Epikhodov would have been more effective had they exchanged roles; and Ranevskaya, enacted by the celebrated Soviet artist, Alla Tarassova, is over-melodramatic. Miss Tarassova, who played Anya in the same play when the company last visited the United States (and who is now chairman of the MAT Board), demonstrates how glacial must be the progress of the older members of the company: I doubt if her acting style has changed much in the past 30 years. Gribov's Firs, though, is a wonderfully doddering presence, both in speech and silence, and the entire ensemble functions with poise and ease; but this production frankly doesn't hold a candle to the sparkling Gielgud-

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directed *Cherry Orchard* I saw in London in 1955.

The Three Sisters, however, a Nemirovich-Danchenko production, revised later by Iosef Raevsky, is a much more impressive event – crammed with detail, beautifully cast, and sensitively performed. The archaism I sensed in the other two productions here takes a more meaningful direction, as a truthful evocation of the past, and all the lyric beauties of the play are made strikingly manifest. The sisters, a doleful frieze in white, blue, and black, constitute a poignant family group; Natasha is played with a developing crudity, which shows the physical and spiritual coarsening of this malevolent despoiler; and Vladimir Belokurov as a complacent Kulygin, Pavel Massalsky as a romantic Vershinin, and Alexei Gribov (again) as a nilihistic Chebutykin are outstanding in a splendid ensemble. But even this fine performance failed to be definitive. The ending of the play, I am sorry to report, has been changed for more "positive" effect (Chebutykin is no longer in the last scene, adding his "It doesn't matter" to the desperate affirmations of the sisters) and the Chekhovian subtext is made a little more obvious than necessary (Tuzhenbakh's final leave-taking of Irina, for example, is now rather operatic, while the hostility between Natasha and the sisters is much too open).

With many of Stanislavsky's original intentions thus preserved, one begins to understand Chekhov's continued grumbling about the Moscow Art Theater as well as his continued devotion to it: it is a company in which great virtues alternate with substantial defects. Chief among its defects today, to judge from the current repertory, is an incapacity to develop with the times. While the best contemporary theater has moved beyond realism, both in writing and in playing (even in the playing of Chekhov), the MAT is still mired in the glories, as well as in the techniques, of its past. Stanislavsky will undoubtedly be considered always one of the great revolutionary modern artists, whose theatrical reforms have affected every theater in the West. But another swing of the pendulum has put his company in the rearguard. Perhaps it is time we stopped arguing over who is Stanislavsky's legitimate heir, and founded a totally different family. It is always a difficult thing to reject a father, especially a powerful and brilliant one, but until the American theater can break the bonds of naturalistic truth and psychological reality, there will be no real advance.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Correspondence

The International Junkie

Sirs:

Though it may constitute a large degree of temerity on the part of a mere layman such as myself to take issue with a psychiatrist of Dr. Herbert S. Peyser's stature ("Children of the Poppy," February 13) I should like to state that his criticism of the so-called "British" system of treating narcotic addicts is invalid, especially from a sociological and penal standpoint. The chances of an addict freeing himself of his dangerous addiction are, under present conditions, very small. The reports from Lexington, I believe, bear this point out. Once "hooked," a person must seek his drug and without an independent income sufficient to purchase it from underworld sellers, he or she generally resorts to criminal activity to acquire the wherewithal. Few have such financial resources, so it would appear more logical, so far as society's interests are concerned, to have the drug victim secure his drug from a licensed physician as is being done with quite salutary effects in England so far as society's interests are concerned.

As to the bifurcation between mental and physical illness and Dr. Peyser's stricture of the unwholesome social influences bearing upon those who fall into addiction through frustration, ecological pressures, etc.: it is, of course, sound advice to urge improvements in the social sphere and many such are obviously required to make our present bedlamic world a better place to live in. However, one would question Dr. Peyser's point of view in regard to this therapy for our society. Freud treated patients who he realized would have to return after analysis to a world quite unsatisfactory and in his *Civilization*

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and its Discontents emphasized the unhealthy substratum of our environment. And, throughout recorded history . . . man has resorted to various stimulants, regardless of the structural pattern of his society.

Regardless also whether addicts are "physically" or "mentally" ill, nevertheless they are sick people. . . .

Without going into the metaphysics of the free-will controversy, it seems patent that with "pushers" in high-schools and many other places, the question of *freely* choosing is not much to be relied upon so far as preventive measures are concerned. As to whether Dr. Peyser is correct or not in stating that ". . . the withdrawal from heroin and from the other opiates is not as severe as that from alcohol or the barbiturates . . ." I leave that to the medical specialists who have treated the helpless victims of this terrible scourge.

Jack Benjamin
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Gordon-Walker's Defeat

Sirs:

While one would indeed be hard pressed to describe the defeat of Patrick Gordon-Walker at Leyton as a vote of confidence in the Labour Government, the picture is not as gloomy (or cheerful?) as Brian Wenham suggests. (February 6.)

There are certain features of the British political scene which require consideration. Firstly, low polls generally mean low majorities, and it has been characteristic that (a) a high poll favors Labour and a low one the Conservatives (b) by-elections tend to favor the party out of office. Secondly, while Wenham rightly points out that Gordon-Walker chose the constituency out of three alternatives, he fails to observe that it was a distinctly marginal one, having been won by Labour in 1959 by only some 400 votes. . . . Coupled with Gordon-Walker's recognized lack of brilliance as a public speaker, the result was well within the bounds of possibility, even without the benefit of hindsight.

Therefore, I feel it would be very difficult to predict the result of an election within the next few months with any certainty. . . .

M. C. Dick
Brown University

The authors were engaged in a program of experiments with LSD and other psychedelic drugs at Harvard University, until sensational personal publicity entirely concentrating [illegible] in the drugs led to suspension of experimentation. Since then the authors have continued their work [illegible] academic auspices.

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